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868 and ordinary work, to which his parents even now introduce him as early as possible,—were those he needed at the time of taking a head or of defending his own: and here again, the best means for acquiring them was practice by imitation or necessity. Even the use of the spear, the headax and the shield was never formally taught: a young man saw his elders at work, and did as they did. After all, a real attack, openly and face to face, has always been rather the exception; to fall unawares on an unsuspecting enemy, to kill a defenceless woman or child, and similar exploits, were usually much more in the line of the Isneg. If nevertheless some of them have been real braves, practice, not formal teaching, has made them such. But nowadays these happy times seem to be gone forever: every Isneg man cultivates his fields in peace and sits undisturbed under his coconut tree, the latter eventuality being usually the more frequent

857 524 Isneg boys and girls are found of play, this is only natural; but their choice is very limited. Indeed, except for the sport of *bisndg*, most of the time these types of play merely consist in running and wrestling, at least as far as active sports that may serve to develop bodily strength are concerned. A group of Isneg boys, whether inside or outside the house, rarely keep quiet for a long time, and very soon playful fighting, which for the most part consists in slapping and kicking one another, is indulged in. This romping, which the Isneg call by the comprehensive term of *mazaúrdd*, after a time becomes so noisy that other people present cannot hear one another's voices, until some old fellow cries: "*Pázat*" (no special meaning), at which the infernal noise stops on the spot, to begin again, of course, at the first opportunity. Isneg girls, although usually less rough and noisy, are not loath to follow the example of the members of the ruder sex; this is generally, but not always, done among themselves exclusively.

[863] 515 Baths are taken rather frequently by both adults and children: the latter either follow the example of their elders or go to take a splash in the river with their companions. In this case each sex keeps strictly apart almost without exception: indeed an Isneg mother never fails to teach her girls a certain modesty as the best means to prevent regrettable incidents. Baths are always taken in some stream of running water; ponds of still water besides being very rare in the Isneg country, are usually infested with crocodiles, and no Isneg would think of fetching water from somewhere to take his ablutions at home: his village is always situated near some river or brook, and he would consider it as the acme of absurdity to go to the stream in

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question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same.

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw.

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife.

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisndg*. *Bisndg* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisndg* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better.

Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the *agent* for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient.

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw nāyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Aydyam: Toy.

Lulluplan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

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857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

192 *Kakŏboń*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboń*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *animá*: Father.

Iná or *inná*: Mother.

Waxi: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawáxi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiyán: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Ikit: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapiduwá: Second cousin.

Kàpi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáñan: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Mánúxań: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Kâyoń or *katâyúg*: Brother-in-law.

Ipág: Sister-in-law.

Kabirat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Waxi* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Kâyoń* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock,
264 there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-

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776 764 *Ruńdd:* a spirit who invariably approaches the house at the death of one of its inmates. He looks like a big tree, and at his arrival the whole house shakes.

Xánat: a kind of giant who is to be seen roaming around, either at the house of a dead person, or along some road leading to it.

Tuktukkál: a whole swarm of spirits who come to mourn and weep at the house of a dead person, especially if the latter is a child.

851 753 The Isneg strictly forbid all children to play noisily anywhere in the settlement where an *innát* is awaiting burial; if any youngster should disobey this injunction, he would invariably become afflicted with *bońkál* (wens).

765 A person who arrives from some other agglomeration bringing in a new jar at the time a corpse is present in one of the houses, may be sure not to be able to enjoy the use of his jar for a long time: the latter is *ma-dammán.*

764 As has been stated previously, the body has to be watched night and day. At night, when most of the mourners are sleeping, from one to three persons must always remain awake, and when the latter feel very sleepy, others must take their place, lest the punishment which has already been referred to be meted out to one of their number.

In case the deceased is a married man, the widow (*bálo*) has to stay near the corpse of her husband, as soon as the body has been dressed and placed in the required position, and she has to remain there until one night after burial. For this purpose a diminutive tent (*aróbón*) is put up near the head of the dead person, on the other side of the post, toward the hearth (fig. 3). This *aróbón* usually consists of a couple of boards for the sides and a blanket for the cover, the whole outfit leaning against the wall of the house. Only men take part in fixing the *aróbón.* The widow has to stay inside all the time, she remains invisible, and she neither weeps nor laments, at least not in a loud voice: if she does so, her sobs should remain inaudible or almost so. There she partakes of the food that is pushed in by her relatives, and there she sleeps. Since the *aróbón* is comparatively small, it is quite impossible for her ever to stretch her legs. If she has to go out for some urgent reason, a board is taken out of the wall, which is not at all difficult in Isneg houses, and a ladder is placed against it. As soon as the woman leaves the house through this improvised door, she has to wrap herself up completely in another blanket, and to reenter as soon as possible. In some places she

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábñg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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243 789 *Nadátag*: when the whole field is covered with ears and the palay is beginning to ripen.

From now on new enemies are making their appearance, and it is the duty of every Isneg farmer to know them and to learn how to frustrate their evil-intentioned endeavors.

The first to appear at this season are the stinkbugs, who empty young ears of rice by sucking out their milky grains. These bugs, when numerous, are able to ravage within a short time the most promising field of palay. When you remark that your paddy *maxalixa* (is attacked by stinkbugs), get a bamboo tube of *básí*-beer, *añlattóñ*-herbs, and a small chick. Mix the *añlattóñ* with the *básí*, place the tube and its mixture somewhere in the center of your *kómiān*, and tie the chick next to it. After one night go and bring back the chick, which must remain alive, and leave the tube where it is. This is a sure remedy against stinkbugs and their depredations.

Then we have several kinds of rats:

The *dasság*, a large rat, resembling a vole or field mouse, but with a long tail; it lives in the bushes, and is very destructive.

The *du-mág*, another large vole or field mouse, said to be a spirit, which, when very big, the Isneg are afraid to kill.

The fruits of the *pazli*, a kind of slender and very hard spiny bamboo; when dropping on the ground, these fruits change into mice, not larger than a finger, and completely destroy the neighboring fields.

To exterminate these pests, get *latúb*, a low herb that may be found almost in any place, and put a whole plant somewhere at the foot of one of the rice stalks. With this one *latúb* the whole field will be protected, and all rats and mice that dare gnaw any of your palay will be killed.

243 857 After the rats come the birds, two kinds of which are especially destructive:

The *ballít*, a very small passerine bird with a short white bill and brown-red plumage; it is very gluttonous and usually appears in large flocks.

The *sígkaráu* (so called from its cry), also a passerine bird, and almost as much be feared as the preceding.

To frighten them away, scarecrows should be put up all through the field. Any kind will do: old rags, long strings stretched over the paddy, empty tins making noise when moved by the wind, etc. But

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these are rarely sufficient, as the birds are usually very numerous and they soon get used to what they feared at first. So the only real remedy consists in watching the field and driving the birds away by shouting (*makasáraw*), by throwing missiles at them, by pulling strings that set scarecrows in motion, etc. This is of course a very tedious process and it would take much valuable time, were it not that it can be done by the children, without any trouble on the part of the parents, except that of going now and then to see if the youngsters are not napping. The latter, however, generally enjoy this kind of a job, and get lots of fun out of it, the more so that they usually find leisure to obtain an occasional dainty, either by hunting for it in the near-by forest, or by pilfering it from an adjoining garden. Besides, they are rarely alone, and a group of Isneg boys and girls is never at a loss to find amusement in some kind of game or play, in order to fill up the time between an occasional shout, the throwing of a pebble, or the pulling of a string connected with scarecrows. The latter contrivance is one of the most convenient, as it allows the watchers to lie down, when they grow tired; the only thing for them to do is to attach the end of the string to one of their toes and to move the leg from time to time.

It also happens that the ears of rice are attacked by the *dungali*, a kind of smut fungus; but fortunately this occurs very rarely and always in rather isolated cases, which is probably due to the Isneg system of farming: fields that are scattered and are never planted with rice twice in succession.

Finally we have the most cunning of all foes, *mán*.

A passer-by may become envious of your splendid crop and, full of spite at your prospective luck, nip (*magbu-sík*) one of the young kernels, without detaching it from its ear. Such a proceeding causes the *kómân* to be ravaged by birds.

Or a woman who has little rice herself, may be coveting yours, and stick some *aúrappút*-herbs in your field, pouring coconut oil all around them. In this way she causes your palay to disappear and to be lost to you.

When damage has been done in your rice field by evil spirits, you should go and plant a spear in it, offer *inápúxân* (betel for chewing) and pray:

Italná-ko ya orúúân ta dumálo ya atoná dâyá maúrawát (I drive the shaft [of a spear] into the ground so that the poison of the destroying spirits gather here).

252 412 [845] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games, swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

524 857 [868] [841]